

844 either carried far into the hills and there deposited in some lonely, out-of-the-way spot, or it is placed to dry in the upper part of the house for about a month, when it may be thrown away in a place where no one is likely to find it. When the umbilicus finally sluffs from the body, it is kept in the house for a month or so and also thrown away in some secluded spot.

844 This great care that no one shall come upon either the umbilical cord or the afterbirth is apparently not due to fear that the child or a member of its immediate family will be injured if either should be found, but it is claimed that the magic effect upon a person encountering either would be very serious, and might even result in death.

[754] No evidence could be obtained that would point to the use of either the umbilicus or the placenta by shamans or others for bringing about magic spells or other malevolent effects.

844 Immediately after its birth, the child is bathed in warm water and its entire face is painted with red achote, but neither the child nor the mother is obliged later to undergo any purification or other ceremony.

NAMES

553 According to their profession of the Roman Catholic faith the Cayapa baptize their children for the first time within a few days after birth. This first rite is performed by a man and a woman, special friends of the family, who are selected by the parents. If the child is a boy, he is held by the man who is to become his godfather while the woman who is to become his godmother

baptizes him with a tumbler of water as she gives him his 553
name, which is almost invariably the given name of the 609 ●
godfather. If a girl, the child is held by the godmother,
baptized by the godfather, and given the name of the
godmother.

A child may be, and usually is, called by its first 551
baptismal name, but sooner or later in its babyhood some
act or circumstance connected with its life will appeal to
the members of the family as particularly ludicrous or
interesting. Its name is thereupon changed, it being 551
called by the name of this act or circumstance to the 553
almost total exclusion of its baptismal name. At the
first opportunity the child is baptized by a priest, and
then receives from him its true Christian name, which is
usually that of the patron saint of the day upon which the
child was born. Some months, however, may elapse
before this second christening, since it is possible to have
such a baptism only when a priest makes a visit to the
region or when a part of the family has occasion to go to
Esmeraldas or to some other point where a priest resides.
In spite of the fact that the child may now have two 551
Christian names, it almost invariably happens that some
nickname given to it in the nature of a joke clings to it,
perhaps for the rest of its life, and always at least until
after marriage. This nickname may at any time be
changed according as some new propensity is displayed
by the child, or some new incident occurs which appeals
to its associates or to the family.

Such a nickname persists usually until the person be- 551
comes a father or a mother, when the name is immediate- 553
ly changed and the person is no longer known by his or

585 other than the bridegroom and his godfather, and the
bride and her godmother, all of those seated at the table
are the heads of families. At the head of the table are
seated the chief and three or four others of the principal
officials. Along the side of the table and immediately
585 to the right of these officials are seated, in order, the
608 godfather of the groom, the groom, the bride, and the
godmother of the bride. The rest of the places on both
sides and at the foot of the table are occupied by the
heads of the families attending the feast. It should be
noted that this godfather of the groom and this god-
mother of the bride are not usually the same as the god-
father and the godmother arising from the baptismal
relationship above described, but are usually persons
somewhat older than the contracting parties and act as
sponsors for the two, much as do the groomsman and
the bridesmaid among civilized peoples.

585 One of these wedding feasts witnessed in 1908 pro-
ceeded as follows: After the usual church invocation,
which is always pronounced at any feast, the chief took
up the bowl of scrambled eggs above mentioned and
personally served a spoonful to each of the four parties
most closely concerned with the marriage—first to the
groom, next to the bride, then to the groom's godfather,
and finally to the bride's godmother. All those at the
table were then at liberty to partake of the other foods
of the feast. In addition to the abundance of dried
meats and other foods with which the table was laden,
pottery plates containing a mush made of ripe plantains
and meat were served, one to each person. Everyone
ate freely, except the bride and groom, who throughout

time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

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of ritual co-parenthood called Compadrazgo. Historically and basically it is concerned with the ritual induction into the Catholic Church of an individual through the rites of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. The god-parent stands in the role of sponsor, and in effect gives assurance of good faith on the part of the unbaptized, the unconfirmed, and the betrothed. Compadrazgo relationships are held to be sacred, and the incest taboo is extended to those involved in the ritual co-parenthood and to their descendants. Wherever found, compadrazgo seems to have been accepted with gusto, and there are innumerable variations on the basic theme outlined above. Such flexibility is indeed noteworthy. Mintz and Wolf discuss some of the reasons for the success of this social institutions:

Compadrazgo, once accepted by a social grouping, can be moulded into the community way of life by many means. It is a two-way social system which sets up reciprocal relations of variable complexity and solemnity. By imposing automatically, and with a varying degree of sanctity, statuses and obligations of a fixed nature, on the people who participate, it makes the immediate social environment more stable, the participants more interdependent and more secure (Mintz and Wolf 1950: 355).

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Benjamin Paul, working on compadrazgo in Middle America, abstracted two basic principles of the institution; namely, the intensification of previously existing relationships, and the extension or creation of new ones (Paul 1942:56-57). Mintz and Wolf see the variations of the principles of intensification and extension that mark the areal spread of ritual co-parenthood to be a reflection of socio-cultural change and economic mobility (Mintz and Wolf 1950:358).

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In cases where the community is a self-contained class, or tribally homogeneous, compadrazgo is prevailing horizontal (intra-class) in character. In cases where the community contains several interacting classes, compadrazgo will structure such relationships vertically (inter-class). Last, in a situation of rapid social change compadre mechanisms may multiply to meet the accelerated rate of change (Mintz and Wolf 1950:364).

Barrett's report of his 1909 field trip among the Cayapa indicates that only baptism and marriage were marked by compadrazgo (Barrett 1925:318, 324, 326).

We are not given any information by Barrett about the identity of the god-parents, except inferentially, that they were Indian and not Negro. Neither are we told about the identities of the god-parents of successive

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children in the same family--are they the same or different? Between 1909 and 1960 the population pattern of the Cayapa area has altered radically, and the socio-economic changes have been even more marked. If Mintz and Wolf are correct, we should expect to find as a result of rapid change, a multiplicity of compadres, and as the Negroes and the Cayapa form two classes, if not castes, we should expect a vertical extension of compadrazgo ties to include Negroes. The evidence presented by Barrett indicates that they were tribally homogeneous in his time, and compadrazgo was apparently horizontal. Despite the fact that there is no data to support me, I feel that the horizontal extension of ritual kinship during the time of Professor Barrett's study among the Cayapa was primarily, if not entirely, to reinforce previously existing kinship ties. At the present time, the Cayapa do indeed follow the pattern predicted by Mintz and Wolf, but the socio-economic causative factors are not as clear-cut as these authors believe them to be; still, they may be discerned in the Cayapa data and we can see the beginnings of a class structured society reflected in some of the legal decisions that deal with polygyny.

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At the present time the Cayapa, in common with most rural Ecuadorians, practice a ceremony of nail cutting that has ritual significance in the sense that god-parents are selected for the child, and the extension of ritual kinship follows as for the rites of baptism and marriage. This ceremonial occasion which is called simply /tyáikikánu/, is a very minor ceremony that may be performed at almost any age from a few months to perhaps six years, or it may never be performed. Almost invariably the god-parents for this occasion are Negro. As Negroes are in political and economic control of the region, we can say that this is a vertical extension of ritual kinship. The Indian seldom asks a Negro to assume this obligation. Quite the contrary, Negroes generally ask the father of the child if he would like to enter into compadrazgo.

The actual ceremony is very simple. Only the participants are present as a rule. The nails are cut by the god-father, and the parings are placed in a glass of rum which is then drunk by the compadres. Small presents, such as a bottle of rum, some food, soft drinks, and tobacco, are exchanged. Thereafter, the

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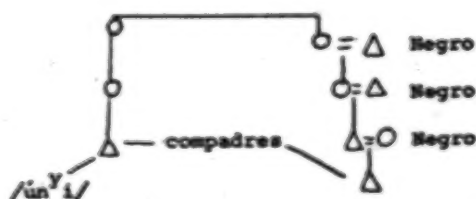
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relationship of greatest importance is that between the compadres and not between the /kumbatápa/ and /kumbatáma/, that is 'god-father' and 'god-mother,' and the god-child or /ihádu/. The compadres refer to each other as /kopáre/ or /komáre/. The relationship thus set up is utterly without sanction from the Church, and in point of fact, the parties, if they are Negro and Indian, do not feel that they are actually tied to each other ritually.

Quite often the Negro who asks to be permitted to cut the child's nails is a travelling merchant who, from time to time, visits the area. It is to his advantage to have an Indian compadre as this assures him of a place to eat and to sleep in his travels. Similarly, if the Negro lives near a town, the Cayapa compadre will visit him occasionally. Indians going to Esmeraldas, for example, may stay for several days in the home of a Negro compadre. Very often the Negro asks to cut the nails of a Cayapa child for pecuniary reasons so that, for example, the banana merchants seek to extend their compadre ties to as many banana growers as they can. Sometimes the Negro attempts to establish previously

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existing kinship ties by means of the nail-cutting ceremony with a Cayapa child. As an example, one Negro who is distantly related to the /únYi/ of the Punta Venado section asked if he could be his compadre. The manner of relationship is as follows:



The /únYi/ says that he does not know the name of this Negro kinsman and compadre who lives by the ocean near Punta Bajo on the other side of Limones at the mouth of the Río Cayapas. He came up one day in his canoe, bringing fish, green coconuts, clams, and other small gifts. He asked if he could cut the nails of one of the children, and the /únYi/ agreed, and the Negro cut the nails of the daughter, Maria Agrecaria. The /únYi/ gave his new compadre gifts of sugar cane, plantain, and chontadura. Since then, the /únYi/ had visited his compadre about ten times in a four- or five-year period, and in return

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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he has been visited about four times. There is no work at all involved in these visits, which are said to be purely social.

Sometimes an Indian will ask to be a compadre so that, for example, the /únYi/'s daughter, Maria Rosa had her nails cut by the father-in-law of the /únYi/'s eldest brother's daughter. She lived in Río Onzole area. Her daughter was ill on occasion, and her father-in-law came up to the Río Camerones to ask Gabriel who was not yet the /únYi/ to come and cure the child. He went down with his family and stayed for about one week. While there a brother-in-law of his niece asked if he could cut the nails of his daughter. When asked why the man had asked to do this, Gabriel replied, "Because he likes me very much." In this case we find a reinforcement of a previously existing relationship. Most children have their nails ceremonially cut, and each child in a family has different god-parents. The picture is one of a multiplicity of compadres extended vertically and horizontally. The emphasis in ceremonial nailcutting is primarily vertical and generally involves Negroes. Indians who seek compadrazgo are usually related

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distantly by marriage and who, for one or another reason, seek to intensify a weak relationship. The important relationship is between the compadres and not between the sponsor and the child.

Baptism. Every infant must be baptized as soon as possible by the priest. The god-parents chosen for this occasion are always Indian. Although some say that it is best to choose them from within the family, others claim that it is best to choose non-relatives. There are no strong feelings one way or another; however, most of my material indicates a bias in favor of having relatives as compadres of the baptism. A statistical treatment is not possible as my data center primarily on the Rio Camerones region and not on the Punta Venado group as a whole.

For the baptism the parents, the god-parents, and the infant go to Limones. The ceremony which is done in the Catholic manner by the priest costs ten suces which is paid by the father of the child. The priest is usually presented with a gift, such as a fan or a basket, made by the Cayapa. At this time no presents are exchanged between the compadres, although

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the father may buy a meal and some drinks for everyone. The compadres now address each other by the same terms used between compadres in the nail-cutting ceremony. When the child grows up, he calls his god-father by the term /padéna?ápa/ and the god-mother by the term, /padéna?áma/, and the reciprocal is /ihádu/ [padéna, from Spanish padrino 'god-father,' áma 'mother' ápa 'father']. Incest taboos, if not present before, are now extended, and the /ihádu/ may not marry any of the children of the god-parents. The relationship is marked by respect from all within it. From time to time as conditions seem to warrant it, the parties to the compadrango of the baptism gift each other with meat. Within a family each child will usually have a different set of god-parents from his siblings. This is a reinforcement of previously existing kin ties with a multiplicity of horizontally-extended ritual kin.

Marriage. The Cayapa say that when one goes to heaven all of the souls there look alike. Every one is the same height, and they all wear identical clothing. It is impossible to recognize the people

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padéna?ápa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his padrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadrazgo could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

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never able to collect cases or to gather actual names, but some of my informants said that they had heard of people occasionally taking a new set of marriage padrinos. The feeling was that this could perhaps be done if the original padrinos gave their permission. In these cases, then, a person could have multiple marriage padrinos. It is most unfortunate that field work exigencies precluded following up these leads. In any event, compadrazgo among the Cayapa has shown itself to be a tremendously flexible instrument of societal ordering.

Religion. The Cayapa are a religious people who call themselves Catholic and are considered to be Catholic by the Church, albeit, "Children in the Faith." They know nothing of the practice of confession and this is not expected of them by the Church. The basic tenets of Catholicism with respect to baptism, marriage, and burial in the Church are followed faithfully by the Cayapa. Within a few months of birth children are taken to the coastal town of Limones or Esmeraldas for baptism. Most marriages are sanctified by a priest, and within a few weeks to a few months after death a special mass will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

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of acrimonious charges, because of a rumor concerning fraudulent land sales, is usually sufficient to squelch whatever factual basis there may have been in the rumor. Very often, the rumors are just malicious in intent, as seems to have been the case in the following instance.

Rumor mongering causes family dispute. Ciro Anapa is not liked by his father's god-father's daughter. Through the system of compadrazgo they are considered to be family. /búlutála/. She apparently spends a good deal of time gossiping about Ciro, much to his annoyance, and although he would very much like to complain to the /ún^yi/, he does not do so because they are family. When Ciro lent some land to Perdomo in Encanto, she claimed that the land was not his and he had no right to make the loan. She generally spreads rumors of illegal land deals involving him. One day as he was studying in his house, three of the Cimar-rón brothers and their mother visited him because they had heard that he had sold their land in Encanto to a Negro. The old woman burst into tears saying that she had once given a feast in honor of Ciro's dead mother,

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